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The plaza was the center of Trumaí social life. Here guests were entertained, ceremonials and wrestling matches were held, and the men gathered daily. Although the women might sit in front of their houses and watch these activities, they were not allowed to come near the log bench, even when the men were not there. The plaza of the Trumaí village was also used as the burying ground.

A short distance north of the circle of houses, on the path to the two main garden clearings of the Trumaí, was another smaller clearing used during the *ole*, or manioc, ceremonies. Other paths radiated outward from the village to the other gardens and to nearby groves of piqui trees. Quain noticed that the paths leading to the Kamayurá village were much broader and cleaner. The Kamayurá were proud of their paths and kept them in good condition. Their plaza was also cleaner of weeds and trash than that of the Trumaí.

Of the four completed houses in the village, two were as large as those of the Kamayurá, but the other two, which were much smaller, were considered by Quain's informants to be genuinely Trumaí in type. Insofar as is known, the details of the construction and shape of all four were substantially the same. They had an elliptical floor plan and were haystack-shaped. Although the side walls were only four feet high, the roof attained a height of fifteen feet. The silhouette of the house was an almost smooth curve from ridge pole to ground. The frame was covered with a grass thatch. There were no windows, and a single entry opened on the plaza.

Each family occupied its own section of the house and had its own fireplace. Personal belongings hung from the walls and ceilings or were placed on small shelves. Hammocks were hung between the side wall posts and the two center posts, the woman's hammock beneath that of her husband. Except for two nuclear families that screened off their sections with blankets and cloth given them by Quain, there was no internal division of the house.

The two largest garden clearings were situated respectively about one mile northeast and one mile northwest of the village. Three small ones were located southeast of the settlement. In order of size, the gardens were named Nariatan, Waniwanitan, Anariatan, Tan Toreake, and Tandatake. Nariatan, the largest, contained, by Quain's rough calculation, approximately seven acres divided into ten plots, representing the gardens of seven men. One plot contained two acres, but the average garden varied between one-fourth and one acre in size. One of the men had erected a temporary thatch shelter in his plot, providing protection from the sun, but not from the rain. Inside there was only a basket of manioc flour, a rack for cooking fish, and a large shallow pot into which manioc was grated. This was the sole garden shelter Quain saw, and, significantly, it belonged to the most industrious horticulturist in the village.

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264 Eating seemed to be casual, and it would be inaccurate to speak of "mealtimes." The time for eating was governed by what one happened to be doing on that day. While a person was in the village, he ate whenever food was offered, which occured frequently. If fishing was in order, the fishermen ate before and after their trip and also took food with them. Quain noticed that people usually ate on arising and, during the planting season, again upon returning from the gardens. Meals, then, were only an intensification of eating, occasioned by the return of people to the village. All the people of a household frequently ate at the same time, but the whole village seldom ate simultaneously. Meals involved little formality, and the Trumaí man often ate in his hammock between naps.

House Building

342 114 Unfortunately, Quain left few detailed drawings of houses or other aspects of material culture, and his descriptions are brief. Most of the data on material culture were gathered from his careful inventory of all the houses in the village. He was probably reserving the detailed documentation for the proposed return trip which he never made.

342 335 The first step in the construction of a house was to sink the two heavy center posts in a deep hole. The ridge pole was then set in place at the top of the center posts by raising it with forked sticks. A few men stood with the sticks at either end of the ridge pole, and each group in turn lifted and set the end on the center posts. A "water shed" (not well described by Quain but undoubtedly a cap of thatch) was placed over the ridge pole. The tops of the center posts were not notched to receive the ridge pole; instead, sticks were lashed on opposite sides of the two [283] center posts to form a fork in which the ridge pole was laid. All joining of the framework in the house was done with bark fiber. Wall posts, about four feet high, were set in the ground so as to form an elliptical floor plan around the center posts.

The next step was to lash on the curved longitudinal poles which join the wall posts to the ridge pole. Horizontal poles were tied across these and across the wall posts to form a frame for the thatch. Additional smaller poles could be added to give a tighter thatch frame. Thatching was sometimes started in one section before the frame had been entirely completed. The grass (*damok*) for thatch was gathered by the house-
342 builders and brought back tied in bundles.

The roof was thatched first, but a section was often left incomplete until the rainy season. Quain was told by Maibu, the chief, that he would finish thatching his house after the rains began because the grass was longer then. In the case of one house, the thatching of the walls was started when the roof was nearly completed. While one builder

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was working on the roof, the other thatched the wall facing the forest, and the house was subsequently occupied while work was still proceeding on that wall. The wall toward the village was temporarily hung with cloth drapes for privacy, although for purposes of protection from enemies the opposite side was thatched first. 342

Additional thatch was placed on the house at the beginning of the rainy season. At that time light poles were bound to the frame for greater support. The chief's house began to sag from the weight of the thatch, and braces had to be put under the ridge pole. Two posts, as heavy as the center posts, were crossed just below the ridge pole and bound together. A few men got behind each post and pushed so that the poles would assume a more nearly vertical position and give firmer support to the ridge poles. When this had been accomplished, the bases of the posts were set in holes. 342 335

Quain had the opportunity to observe two houses being constructed: his own and a fifth dwelling being built by two Trumaí men. His own small house took one week to build. The work started off with a great burst of effort, and in four hours all the wall posts, center posts and the ridge pole were in place. However, every day thereafter progress became increasingly slower. 123 342 461

House styles and construction were not rigidly conventionalized. The Trumaí helped build a house for the missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Young, and they thought that Quain, being a *kuruáiba* (white man), would like one such as the Youngs had designed for themselves. When they were half finished with the frame, Quain realized what was happening, and asked for a haystack house like theirs. The revision was made easily and the result was a hybrid. This, added to the fact that two of the houses in the village were much larger than the other two, indicated a certain flexibility and willingness to imitate. The Kamayurá classified the different posts and poles that went into house building, but the Trumaí had only very broad terms for the corresponding parts. 123 341 [197] [192] [335]

The heavy work of raising the ridge pole, stepping in braces, and carrying and inserting center posts was done cooperatively. These joint labors, although brief and infrequent, made for a festive occasion and gave rise to laughter and gaiety, an unusual thing among the men. With the exception of operations requiring the combined efforts of more men, the house was built by the males who were to occupy it. Women took no part in the building. Yanahi and Mayuva, who were building a new house, shared the work unequally, Yanahi doing the larger part. They did not always work at the same time, and, when they did, they worked on separate sections of the house. 335 342 476 [462]

Quain's house was built cooperatively because he was an outsider, and it was the obligation of the whole community to accommodate him. 123 342 476 574

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The situation was comparable to the previously mentioned communal planting of the garden of the Kamayurá, Uluku.

Canoes

The standard bark canoe of the upper Xingú was made and used by the Trumaí.[4] Construction was simple and much less time was required to complete it than the typical dugout canoe of the tropical forest. A long, rectangular piece of bark was cut from the *jatobá* tree by men standing on platforms. The bark was then heated over a fire to soften it. The sides were bent up, and the top end of the bark, which narrowed slightly, was made into the bow by bending it upwards. The center of the stern was bent inwards, allowing the whole stern to be well above the water. Leaks were mended with patches of river mud or clay. Propulsion was by paddle, although occasionally poles were used.

There was also one small dugout in the village which belonged to Alcari, Quain's cook and helper. Alcari had been a Yuruna captive, and it was undoubtedly during this experience that he had learned to make this type craft. He also had a bark canoe and was the only Trumaí to own two canoes.

Basketry

The Trumaí men manufactured baskets that were variously shaped and served several purposes. In general, the Trumaí were less skilled in this art than their upper Xingú neighbors. Among the baskets described by Quain was a deep, round tray made of *buriti* fiber and another which was used to store manioc flour and, when equipped with shoulder and forehead tumplines, to carry loads. The latter was an openwork container made of bark stripe. A smaller basket of this type was made of *buriti* fibers. The manioc sieve, or *tuafi*, was made of stiff *buriti* fronds and was also used to store small articles. It was made by the women. The women also made a bark cloth bag known as the *tdewsit*, a term that, in addition, designated the female pubic covering.

All of the baskets and similar containers described by Quain were made by other groups of the area, but the art of manufacturing certain varieties was known to only a few Trumaí. Some baskets were obtained in trade.

Textiles

All work in cotton was the exclusive province of the women. Hammocks of both twined and woven types were made. The loom consisted of two upright posts between which a warp of *buriti* fiber was extended.

[4] Cf. von den Steinen 1897, pp. 322-23.

[i.e. building Quain's house--Analyst]